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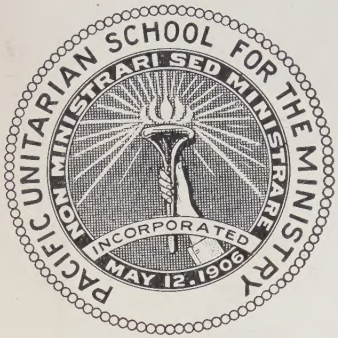

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THE

RIGHT & DUTY

OF DEFENSIVE WAR,

A

SERMON

PREACHED

Before a Society of Unitarian Dissenters at Sheffield,

On the 19th of October, 1803,

BEING A DAY RECOMMENDED BY GOVERNMENT FOR A NATIONAL FAST.

To which is added

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Some Observations on the French Preparations for Invasion,

And on the Mode of National Defence, &c.

BY BENJ. NAYLOR.

"Ea caritas patriæ esse debet ut, tam ignominiâ eam quam morte nostrâ, si opus sit, servemus."——LIVIUS, L. ix. C, 4.

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TO

THE SHEFFIELD REGIMENT

OF

VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

AND TO

THE TWO SHEFFIELD TROOPS

OF

Yeomanry Cavalry

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF THE WEST RIDING
OF THE COUNTY OF YORK

THE

FOLLOWING DISCOURSE,

INTENDED TO SUPPORT THE JUST AND HONOURABLE CAUSE
IN BEHALF OF WHICH THEY HAVE SO NOBLY ASSOCIATED,

THE CAUSE OF BRITISH LIBERTY

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☞ Some paſſages of the following Diſcourſe having been miſrepreſented, in conſequence, probably, of their having been miſunderſtood, the Author has been induced to comply with a requeſt that it might be ſubmitted to the inſpection both of thoſe who heard it and of the Public. Having been written in haſte, without any view to publication, a few verbal corrections and ſome additions have been found neceſſary in preparing it for the preſs. But the paſſages referred to remain unaltered.

The miſcellaneous obſervations contained in the Appendix were originally deſigned only as notes to the Sermon: But, having accumulated beyond the firſt intention of the Author, they have been thrown into their preſent form.

N. B. Should any profits ariſe from the ſale of this Pamphlet, they will be applied in aid of the Contribution for the ſupport of the SHEFFIELD VOLUNTEERS.

Sheffield, November 12, 1803.

THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF DEFENSIVE WAR.

NEHEMIAH IV.—14.

"Be not ye afraid of them: Remember the Lord who is great and terrible, and fight for your Brethren, your Sons, and your Daughters, your Wives, and your houſes."

WE are met together this day, my chriſtian friends, in concert with our fellow worſhippers throughout the whole extent of our native land, and under circumſtances which cannot but excite the moſt lively intereſt in every reflecting mind, to implore the bleſſing of heaven on our national counſels, and on our united efforts in the ſacred cauſe of national freedom and independence. A proud and a powerful foe menaces us with deſtruction. The noiſe of his hoſtile armaments has long reſounded in the numerous ports which his extended dominion embraces; and, notwithſtanding the high diſcipline, and diſtinguiſhed

prowess of the britiſh navy, he flatters himſelf with the hope of landing his armies on our ſhores, and of ſtretching his deſpotic empire over our free and happy iſland. Should he ſucceed in this audacious deſign, we ſhould be diſgraced in the eyes of all Europe, our commerce would be deſtroyed, our naval ſuperiority extinguiſhed, our liberties, civil and religious, annihilated, that wiſe and beautiful ſyſtem of jurisprudence which has been the work of ages, and the admiration of the world would be at once overthrown, our towns and villages would be delivered over to the fury of a rapacious and licentious ſoldiery, our property and our lives would be held only at the mercy of a relentleſs conqueror, and we ſhould be ſunk into the abject ſtate of dependents and vaſſals of France; of France which has ſo often bowed before our arms, and whoſe haughty monarchs have repeatedly been glad to accept, from our brave forefathers, the dictated conditions of peace.

But, however formidable her preparations for victory may appear, however numerous, however diſciplined her armies may in fact be, however largely ſhe may have increaſed her territory, her population, and her influence, by the events of a revolution, begun on the principles of liberty, but, through the unhappy interference of other ſtates,

and of our own in particular, terminating in the extenſion of deſpotiſm ; it cannot be that Britons will ſubmit to acknowledge the yoke of a foreign government; it cannot be that they will tamely ſee wreſted from them rights and privileges, which they value more highly than life, or that they will meanly crouch beneath a tyrant whom they deſpiſe, and whom they deſpiſe the more, becauſe he not only hath ſacrificed an extenſive empire to his own perſonal ambition, but hath contaminated the name, and diſhonoured the cauſe of freedom, by rendering it the hypocritical pretext for raiſing himſelf to arbitrary power.

There was a time when thoſe who had long watched with anxiety over the courſe of the french revolution, in the hope that a pure and rational ſyſtem of repreſentative government would ariſe out of it, looked to this man for the ſalvation of France, and the preſervation of the liberties of Europe. There was a time when he might have twined a garland of immortal glory around his brows, by giving freedom to the old, as the guardian Angel of America had given it to the new world. But, faithleſs to the ſublime example of a Waſhington, he hath preferred conſiderations of private aggrandizement to the welfare of mankind, and the nauſeous flattery of a few fawning Sycophants to the

bleſſings of a happy and grateful poſterity. The gratification of proud, jealous, and reſentful paſſions appears to be the object neareſt his heart; and in purſuit of this object, he rouſes the vindictive hoſtility of his people againſt a nation which looks with juſt abhorrence upon his crimes, and ſtands the only effectual obſtacle in the way of his guilty ambition. For the avowed purpoſe of ſubduing us, he prepares his myrmidons to croſs the ſea, which at preſent ſeparates us from his power; and, ſwoln with paſt ſucceſſes over ſtates leſs able to contend with them, his plundering hoſts already, in imagination, bedeck themſelves with the ſpoils, and ſatiate their revenge and their cruelty with the tears of Britain. On yonder coaſts they ſet their battle in array againſt us; and, flattering themſelves that ſome favourable opportunity may occur for eluding the vigilance of our fleets, they boaſt that, on the ſhores of our own iſland, we ſhall not be able to contend ſingle-handed with their numerous and diſciplined legions. But, let their legions advance; let them be favoured by the winds and tides; let them eſcape, if they can, and as they can, the valour of britiſh ſeamen: In the ſacred cauſe of liberty, our countrymen know no fear; and innumerable bands of undaunted volunteers will be proud to ſacrifice their lives in protecting the honour and independence of their native land.

To this manly conduct we are urged, in ſuch a criſis, by ſentiments congenial to the human heart; and I am prepared to maintain that we are equally urged to it by the voice of duty and the obligations of religion. In the paſſage which I have prefixed to this diſcourſe, the brave Nehemiah exhorts his countrymen boldly to reſiſt the hoſtility of their enemies, who would gladly have prevented them from purſuing the great work, in which they were engaged, of rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem, and who, after having in vain tried every artifice to withdraw them from their deſign, had now conſpired to obſtruct the execution of it by force. "But it came to paſs," he informs us, "that when Sanballatt and Tobiah and the Arabians and the Ammonites and the Aſhdodites heard that the walls of Jeruſalem were made up and that the breaches began to be ſtopped, then they were very wroth and conſpired all of them together to come and to fight againſt Jeruſalem and to hinder it. Nevertheleſs we made our prayer unto our God, and ſet a watch againſt them day and night becauſe of them." "Therefore ſet I in the lower places behind the wall and on the higher places I even ſet the people after their families, with their ſwords, their ſpears, and their bows. And I looked and roſe up and ſaid unto the nobles and to the rulers and to the reſt of

the people,—Be not ye afraid of them: Remember the Lord who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your ſons and your daughters, your wives and your houſes."

May we not, my friends, imagine this great and good man addreſſing us in ſimilar language, in the circumſtances in which we are now placed? Is it not the language which every patriot would naturally addreſs to his countrymen, when threatened with invaſion by a foreign power? And is it not language which in our preſent ſituation will find a ready anſwer in the heart of every Briton? We are no longer worthy of that freedom which was bought by the beſt blood of our anceſtors, if we ſcruple to ſhed our own in defending it to the laſt extremity. What, though ſeveral minor ſtates have lately been compelled to relinquiſh their independence, and to do homage to the extended power of France? The Genius of Britain will never bend before a hoſt of tutored ſlaves, nor conſent to ſwell the triumphs of their haughty ruler. Favoured as he may have been by fortune, and diſtinguiſhed as he undoubtedly is by military talents, to ſubjugate the miſtreſs of the ocean is an enterprize beyond his reach. If it dazzle not his aſpiring and unbounded ambition, the glittering phantom will aſſuredly mock his graſp.

It is not often that I addreſs you on ſubjects of a political nature. The diſcuſſion of ſuch ſubjects is in general foreign to the important purpoſes for which we aſſemble in this place. Never, before, did I accoſt you as the advocate for war. But on the preſent occaſion you will naturally expect me to advert to the political circumſtances of our country; and, when I conſider thoſe circumſtances, I cannot but feel myſelf at once authorized and called upon, by the example of the great Nehemiah, to urge you to the exerciſe of that heroic courage, and that exalted ſpirit of ſelf-devotion, which may enable you bravely to repel the meditated attack of a ferocious enemy, whoſe ſucceſs would connect with it the downfal of every thing, in this country, which can make life deſirable.

" O firſt of human bleſſings and ſupreme,
Fair peace! how lovely, how delightful thou!
O peace, thou ſource and ſoul of ſocial life,
Beneath whoſe calm inſpiring influence
Science his views enlarges, art refines,
And ſwelling commerce opens all her ports,
What would not, peace, the patriot bear for thee?
What painful patience, what inceſſant care,
What mix'd anxiety, what ſleepleſs toil?
For he thy value knows, thy friendſhip he
To human nature: But the better thou,
The richer of delight, ſometimes the more

Inevitable war, when ruffian force
Awakes the fury of an injured State,
And dares the ſacred vengeance of the juſt."*

If there be any right founded on the original principles of human nature, it is certainly the right of ſelf-defence. This right, indeed, every individual in part ſurrenders when he enters into a ſtate of civil ſociety. But he ſurrenders it only in order that he may enjoy more complete protection from the government, into whoſe hands he confides the right and duty of guarding him from lawleſs violence and injuſtice. In circumſtances, however, in which it is impoſſible that an appeal ſhould be made to the laws of his country, with ſufficient expedition to enable him to ſhelter himſelf behind the broad ſhield of the public force, every individual is at liberty to reſume the rights of nature, and in ſuch circumſtances the laws of every free ſtate allow their ſubjects to defend themſelves, ſo that if in protecting his own life a man ſhall take away the life of another, he ſhall not be deemed guilty of murder, but only be conſidered as having committed juſtifiable homicide.

The law of ſelf-defence, which holds good between different individuals of the ſame commu-

* Thomſon's Britannia.

nity, with ſtill ſuperior reaſon holds good between different and independent nations. Here there is indeed no other law to which an appeal can poſſibly be made beſides the law of nature and reaſon, which never fails to dictate to the aſſaulted party the right of reſiſtance if, in making ſuch reſiſtance, they appear to themſelves to have a probability of ſucceſs; a probability which valour ſtops not to calculate, when ſlavery on one hand is the reward of baſeneſs, and freedom on the other hand is the recompenſe of virtue. In the wars which different nations ſo frequently wage againſt each other the obligations of juſtice muſt be violated on one ſide; and it too often happens that they are contravened on both. But a war of ſelf-defence alone muſt be a war of right: And, if we have been unavoidably forced into war on this principle, it will ſcarcely be maintained that it is to be ſo rigidly interpreted as to require us upon all occaſions to wait for the attack of the enemy, and to make it unlawful for us to obviate that attack, or to endeavour to avert the ſcene of warfare from our own borders by operations of an offenſive nature. A war once entered into on the cleareſt ground of ſelf-defence may, without any inconſiſtency, be conducted in its ſubſequent detail upon the ſyſtem of aſſault. For if we deny this we muſt allow that the right of ſelf-defence will in many

inſtances be nugatory, and that, though we may lawfully defend ourſelves, we may not defend ourſelves in the beſt and often in the only effectual way.

Theſe principles, which, I contend, are the principles of reaſon and juſtice, will not be found in oppoſition to the precepts or doctrines of Chriſtianity, rightly underſtood. The religion of the goſpel is indeed the religion of peace. The temper which it enjoins us to cultivate, and which its tenets are happily calculated to inſpire, is the temper of meekneſs, gentleneſs and benevolence. It teaches us to regard all mankind as our brethren, to "weep with thoſe that weep," to "rejoice with thoſe that rejoice," and to "love" and do good to even "our enemies." If all men acted upon theſe maxims, there would certainly be neither any occaſion for war nor any poſſibility of its exiſtence; "nation" would no longer "riſe up againſt nation, neither would they learn war any more." Upon this ſuppoſition alſo there would be no occaſion for the inſtitutions of civil government. It would no longer be requiſite to control the inclinations or paſſions of individuals for the public good. This object would be invariably purſued by all, and the law of the goſpel would ſuperſede the neceſſity of a civil code. But, though

ſome of the prophecies of ſcripture give us reaſon to hope that a ſtate of things ſo happy and delightful will at one time take place, it does not appear to have been the intention of the great author of the chriſtian religion, ſo long as rapine and violence continue to exiſt in the world, that no checks ſhould be provided againſt their operation, in the caſe either of individuals or of ſeparate and independent ſtates. On theſe points revelation hath not particularly inſiſted. For it cannot be ſucceſsfully maintained that the proverbial expreſſions, by which a peaceable and quiet temper is ſtrongly inculcated in the new teſtament, amount to any alteration of the religion of nature and reaſon, which teaches us to "do juſtice," to "love mercy," and to avoid the occaſions both of giving and of taking offence. This amiable ſpirit is, indeed, required from chriſtians in a ſuperior degree of perfection, and its obligation is raiſed beyond the rank which it had been conceived to hold, in the ſcale of duties, according to the apprehenſions of the heathen world. But the religion of nature is rather explained and reſtored than in any degree changed by the admonitions which exhort us, "if any man ſmite us on the right cheek to turn to him the other alſo," "if any man will ſue us for our coat to let him have our cloak alſo," "and if any man will compel us to go a mile to go with him twain."

Theſe are ſtrong expreſſions, but they are not to be literally interpreted, and are plainly intended only to denote the general importance, and the high obligation, of a peaceable and obliging diſpoſition. All this is perfectly conſiſtent with the right of defending ourſelves againſt the attacks of unjuſt violence, either as individuals or as communities. That it is allowable and even neceſſary to inflict puniſhments upon thoſe who are guilty of offences againſt ſocial order, both the jewiſh and chriſtian ſcriptures evidently ſuppoſe. The authority of parents and maſters is not unfrequently inculcated in the holy writings. The civil magiſtrate is deſcribed by St. Paul as one "that beareth not the ſword in vain, but who is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." *(a)* And governors are repreſented by St Peter as "ſent for the puniſhment of evil doers" as well as "for the praiſe of them that do well." *(b)* But if revealed religion authorize the repreſſion and puniſhment of ſuch as oppoſe the peace and good order of ſociety, it cannot be preſumed to require, nor can a ſingle paſſage be produced in which it does require, that the members of any civil community ſhall tamely ſit ſtill whilſt their rights are attacked, their territory is invaded,

(a) Romans XIII.—4. *(b)* 1 Peter II.—14.

their property ſeized, and their liberty and independence annihilated by a foreign power. To interpret the chriſtian duties of forbearance, meekneſs and charity, as operating to this abſurd extent, is to do eſſential injuſtice to the religion by which they are inculcated. It is to make an unwarranted diſtinction, or rather a direct oppoſition, between the dictates of reaſon and the precepts of revelation; and it is to aſſert that we cannot become chriſtians without a voluntary ſacrifice of the deareſt rights and the most invaluable privileges of our nature. No, my friends, the religion of the goſpel is not at variance with the natural and impreſcriptible rights of mankind. It teaches us to be lovers of peace. But it likewiſe inſtructs us that we "have been called unto liberty," *(a)* and it enjoins us to "ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made us free," and "not to be entangled with the yoke of bondage," *(b)* evidently implying that we may juſtly reſiſt all attempts to impoſe ſuch a yoke upon us. The liberty, it is true, of which the apoſtle here ſpeaks, is the right of chriſtians to an exemption from the ceremonial obſervances of the moſaic ritual. But the ſpirit of his argument will entirely evaporate if we do not ſuppoſe it to be built upon the principle that we have a natural

(a) Galatians V.—13. *(b)* Galatians V.—1.

right, acknowledged and unaltered by the chriſtian ſyſtem, to reſiſt oppreſſion, of whatever ſpecies it may be.

The right of taking up arms in defence of our country being aſcertained, it will not be difficult to ſhew that it may be our duty to recur to the exerciſe of this right. There are caſes in which it is better to conſult the intereſts of peace, even at the expence of our juſt claims, than, by tenaciouſly inſiſting upon them, to incur the evils of diſſenſion. And war is always pregnant with ſo many miſeries that a magnanimous nation will never have recourſe to it, except when the moſt imperious neceſſity ſhall compel it to draw the ſword. But when the miſchiefs, likely to ariſe from a ſtate of warfare, are far inferior to thoſe which would probably reſult from a tame acquieſcence in the daring deſigns of our enemies; when thoſe deſigns are levelled not merely againſt ſome little petty intereſt, ſcarcely wo th defending, but againſt our moſt important rights, and even againſt our very exiſtence as a free and independent ſtate, we are not only permitted but it becomes at once our honour and our duty to oppoſe, with undaunted firmneſs, the views of oppreſſion and the attacks of violence. There are certain privileges which, when we are once poſſeſſed of them, we cannot

innocently ſurrender. Such are the bleſſings of civil and religious liberty, which no man can voluntarily renounce without conſtituting himſelf, by the act, a wretch unworthy to breathe the vital air. Nor can any community paſſively allow itſelf to be deprived of theſe invaluable bleſſings, without abjuring every title to the character of honour, and acknowledging itſelf dead to every ſentiment of virtuous ſenſibility. The *rights* of freedom, both civil and religious, are abſolutely inalienable. We cannot, if we would, diveſt ourſelves of them.—They attach to us in circumſtances in which their exerciſe may be precluded, and they belong to the ſubjects of the inquiſition, to the ſlaves of Morocco, and to the negroes of the weſt-india planter as clearly and as fully as to the citizens of Britain or of the united ſtates of America. But not only the rights themſelves are indeſtructible; the exerciſe and the defence of thoſe rights are likewiſe obligatory, if it be obligatory upon rational and moral creatures to exerciſe their rational and moral faculties, and if reaſon and conſcience, and the power of following their deciſions be amongſt the moſt important and valuable of the gifts of God to man. It is certainly our duty to guard and to ſupport, as well as to enjoy the privileges which the bounty of heaven has conferred upon us; and this duty riſes in its obligation in proportion to the

importance and value of thoſe privileges. The exerciſe of it is a branch of piety, and a juſt and required expreſſion of our religious gratitude. But if the bleſſings, which we individually enjoy, be alſo conferred upon our friends and upon our country, the union of our efforts for their protection with thoſe of our companions and fellow citizens partakes the character not only of piety but of benevolence, and we are called upon for our beſt and moſt manly exertions, in the preſervation of them, by the venerated claims of friendſhip and of patriotiſm, as well as of religion and perſonal honour. On theſe grounds the brave Nehemiah exhorted the Iſraelites to remember that God from whom they had received the privileges they were called upon to defend, and in the humble confidence of his protection, to "fight for their brethren, their ſons, and their daughters, their wives, and their houſes." Similar to thoſe of the Iſraelites, as they were then circumſtanced, are the obligations which at preſent challenge our united zeal and vigour, to repel the threatened deſcent upon our coaſts of an enemy who aims to deprive us of our deareſt birth-rights, and who, if he ſhould once obtain the aſcendency over our arms, would ſpread devaſtation, miſery and ruin through every province of the britiſh empire. Let us, then, ſtand up, as men, as chriſtians and as britons, in the de-

fence of the laws and liberties of our native land. The cauſe, in which we are now engaged, being to protect thoſe rights and that national independence which we have received from heaven, is a cauſe concerning the juſtice of which there can be no difference of opinion. It is a cauſe which, not only vindicates but, requires our moſt ſpirited exertions, and which it were equally diſgraceful and ruinous to abandon. It is true, the preſent war with France may be conſidered as an appendix to the late war; and the late war, on the part of this country, has been condemned, in its principle, by many of the beſt friends and ableſt advocates of freedom. Raſhly and precipitately engaged in, as it appears to them to have been, it has, in their opinion, entailed upon us many diſaſtrous conſequences and, amongſt others, the neceſſity of now contending for our very exiſtence againſt the unhappily-augmented power of our inveterate and implacable enemy. But whatever was the principle on which that war was founded, whether it were juſt or unjuſt, neceſſary or unneceſſary, nothing can be clearer than that the miſtakes or crimes of thoſe by whom it was conducted, do not require that we ſhould now make a tame ſurrender of our national honour to an individual who, to gratify his unbounded luſt of power, ſcruples

not to ſacrifice the deareſt intereſts of mankind. Even his military laurels have been ſtained by acts of the moſt diſgraceful inhumanity. The civic wreath which freedom had once prepared for him, ſhe hath torn, with indignant hands, into a thouſand fragments; and ſhe now calls upon her genuine ſons to ſupport her inſulted cauſe or to periſh in the attempt. The liberties of Europe are, on this occaſion, connected with the ſucceſs of Great Britain. We fight, not merely for ourſelves but, for every neighbouring ſtate and, not for liberty alone but, for all thoſe bleſſings which appear in her train and vaniſh at her departure. If we once permit the preſent ruler of France to claſs us amongſt the number of his ſlaves, commercial induſtry will quicklydroop, and ſcience, virtue and religion will receive the deadlieſt wound which they have endured ſince the aſſumption of the papal power. For with liberty the ſpirit of commercial enterprize can alone exiſt; with liberty ſcience, virtue and religion muſt riſe or fall. They breathe not in the corrupted atmoſphere of a land of ſlaves. But perhaps it may be alledged that, whatever opinion may be entertained of the merits of the paſt war, it is a miſtake to ſuppoſe the preſent war to be its neceſſary reſult. Perhaps it may be alledged that the hoſtilities, in which we are involved, might have been avoided by the exerciſe

of a little more prudence and a little more firmneſs on the part of the adminiſtration now in office. Poſſibly this might have been the caſe; and, if ſo, it is much to be lamented that that prudence, that that firmneſs were not employed. But theſe are gratuitous conjectures. There is every reaſon to believe that the preſent adminiſtration have acted according to their beſt judgment for the good of their country; and if their conduct have been erroneous, or even criminal, it by no means follows that the nation is not to be bravely defended againſt an inſidious, aſpiring, and inveterate foe, who menaces no leſs than its complete and final deſtruction. Whatever be the primary ground of diſpute, ſubſiſting between the two governments, it is become comparatively inſignificant. Whether the proceedings of our own have been diſcreet or otherwiſe, is now a queſtion of ſubordinate conſideration. And it is a queſtion which we ſhall do well to poſtpone to a more "convenient ſeaſon." Inſtead of criticiſing its faults, we are imperiouſly called upon to defend its rights; and we are reduced to the neceſſity of fighting for every thing which a generous people ought to hold moſt dear. Let us then prepare ourſelves with ardour and alacrity for the glorious conflict. It is the conflict of patriotiſm and freedom againſt tyranny and ambition. On the ſucceſs of it depends the triumph

or the downfal of humanity. And, notwithſtanding the numerous and diſciplined bands which the preſent military deſpotiſm of France is able to call into the field, the iſſue cannot be doubtful, if the ſacred fire of liberty have not ceaſed to warm the hearts and to nerve the arms of britons.

The ſolemnities of this day do indeed inſtruct us, and it becomes us with pious humility to remember, that the ſucceſs of our best efforts muſt depend on the providence of our almighty Protector. "His is the greatneſs and the power and the glory and the victory and the majeſty." (*a*) "The Kingdom is the Lord's and he is the governor among the nations," (*b*) "He increaſeth the nations and deſtroyeth them; he enlargeth the nations and ſtraiteneth them again." (*c*) "He changeth the times and the ſeaſons; he removeth Kings and ſetteth up Kings." (*d*) "The most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men and giveth it to whomſoever he will." (*e*) But though the ſcriptures uniformly deſcribe all events as ultimately depending on the will of divine Providence, they do not the leſs inculcate the neceſſity on our part of active and perſevering induſtry, expreſsly requiring from us the uſe and improvement of thoſe talents

(*a*) 1 Chron. XXIX.—11. (*b*) Pſalms XXII.—28. (*c*) Job XII.—23.
(*d*) Daniel II.—21 (*e*) Daniel IV.—17.

which have been committed to our care. (*f*) The Deity evidently regulates his proceedings towards his creatures by general laws; and though no event can be brought to paſs in oppoſition to his counſels by our exertions, yet, it appears to be a part of the general ſyſtem of his moral government to allow the conduct of his creatures, within certain bounds, the extent of which it is impoſſible for us to aſcertain, to influence and direct the courſe of events. Thus if, in circumſtances of individual danger, we neglect to make due proviſion for our individual ſafety, we are not authorized to expect any divine interference to preſerve us from the conſequence, even though that conſequence ſhould be our individual deſtruction. In like manner, if, as a nation, we indolently repoſe ourſelves upon the guardian care of divine Providence, to ſhield us from the threatened attack of our enemies, without employing the faculties and uſing the means for our ſecurity with which that Providence hath furniſhed us, we have no reaſon whatever to expect that a miracle will be wrought for our preſervation. Let us, with due humility, implore the aſſiſtance and recommend ourſelves and our cauſe to the protection of heaven. Let us endeavour to deſerve that protection by a con-

(*f*) Matthew XXV.—14. et ſeq.

ſcientious obedience to its laws. Let us confide in the long experienced mercy of God, that every needful aſſiſtance will be granted to us, if we faithfully and actively on our part employ the faculties which have already been beſtowed upon us. But let us take care that we do employ them; and, whilſt we "remember the Lord who is great and terrible," let us exert ourſelves as men who are called upon "not to be afraid" of the enemy that riſeth up againſt us but "to fight for our brethren, our ſons and our daughters, our wives and our houſes."

In the ſituation in which we are now placed, expoſed as a nation to one common danger, threatened with one common ruin, we ought to be, and I am perſuaded we are, at this moment, influenced by one common ſpirit. It is not now a time to indulge ourſelves in thoſe party diſputes by which we may have been formerly divided. Let every ſuch diſpute, then, be huſhed into peace. Let every difference of either political or religious ſentiment, which may exiſt amongſt us, be for a while forgotten. Let thoſe who may think themſelves aggrieved by any of the meaſures of government no longer remember their cauſes of complaint. Let proteſtant diſſenters ceaſe to recollect the ſtill continued operation of intolerant

ſtatutes, referring themſelves with confidence to the future juſtice and liberal policy of a britiſh government and to the better informed judgment of their country. Let our roman catholic brethren, both in this and in the ſiſter kingdom, adopt, as I doubt not they are in general diſpoſed to adopt, the ſame manly demeanour. From a britiſh ſenate they may confidently expect redreſs, as ſoon as it ſhall be clearly underſtood that the perfect enjoyment of religious liberty, by all claſſes and deſcriptions of perſons, may not only be made compatible with civil ſecurity, but is in reality eſſential to its complete and permanent eſtabliſhment. Let the advocates for parliamentary reform, and thoſe who wiſh for a repeal or alteration of certain ſtatutes which appear to them inconſiſtent with the genuine principles of our free conſtitution, poſtpone to a future period, when it ſhall appear that we ſtill have a political exiſtence, their efforts for the removal of corruptions or the reſtoration of popular franchiſes. Let us all remember that no human ſyſtem of government can be free from imperfections, and that, though this be no argument for the continuance of abuſes, it is a juſt and powerful one for purſuing plans of improvement with temperance and moderation. If our ſyſtem of national polity be not exempt from errors, it contains fewer defects and greater and more numerous excel-

lences than any other prevalent in Europe. But no amelioration can rationally be expected, in the condition, civil or religious, of any claſs of perſons amongſt us, by the introduction of a foreign power; and leaſt of all that power which now threatens, and would rejoice to accompliſh, our deſtruction. It is not at preſent a queſtion about this or that ſyſtem of policy, about the extent of regal influence or popular privilege, the freedom of election or the purity of our repreſentation, the impropriety of applying religious ordinances to civil purpoſes, the abſurdity of requiring ſubſcriptions to incomprehenſible articles of faith, or the injuſtice of expoſing to civil penalties, thoſe who cannot conſcientiouſly comply with ſuch requirements. Theſe are ſubjects which we have been accustomed to diſcuſs in the calm of peace, which are certainly worthy of the ſerious attention of engliſhmen, and to which, I truſt, opportunity will be afforded them to revert. But every ſubordinate conſideration, every inferior grievance ſhould now be abſorbed in the magnitude of the danger which threattens our country. From the wiſdom and liberality of that country we may all of us ultimately expect juſtice. And, even ſhould ſome of us be deceived in this expectation, we cannot be miſtaken in the well founded apprehenſion that, under a foreign and eſpecially under a french dominion,

we ſhould be liable to infinitely greater evils than any of which we now complain. Such is, upon the whole, the happy conſtitution of the britiſh government that, whatever may be our reſpective cauſes of diſſatisfaction, we have hitherto enjoyed in a high degree the bleſſings of civil, and no inconſiderable portion of religious liberty. The laws of England, founded, in general, on the pureſt wiſdom, and executed with an impartiality unknown in any other european ſtate, extend their equal protection alike to the rich and to the poor; and it is to be hoped that the ſame impartiality will in time be introduced in their treatment of every denomination of religioniſts. Nothing could tend more to make religion flouriſh; nothing could be more favourable to the intereſts of truth or to the promotion of good morals. The different ſects and parties, into which the religious world is and always muſt be divided, being treated with equal favour by the civil power, would have no other means of recommending themſelves to public eſteem, than by the force of their arguments or the exemplarineſs of their manners. Truth would have the faireſt opportunity of exerciſing its influence. It would be ſought for, not in human ſyſtems but, in its own original records: And the zeal, alacrity and emulation, with which it would

be purſued, and the readineſs with which, when found, it would always be embraced, would be peculiarly favourable to the intereſts of ſociety. We have ſeen, and continue to rejoice in the good effects of a ſyſtem of liberal policy in the adminiſtration of our civil and commercial affairs; and it is this liberal policy, eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, which peculiarly and juſtly attaches us to the country in which we live. The encouragement which is here afforded to induſty, by the freedom with which it is permitted to exert itſelf, and by the ſecurity of its acquiſitions, has raiſed our commerce to a pitch of unrivalled proſperity. It is this extended commerce which has excited the jealouſy of our ambitious neighbours. For they well know it is this which conſtitutes our national greatneſs. It is this which is the ſupport of the lower as well as of the higher claſſes of the community: And they are much miſtaken, if there be any of them who imagine that they have nothing to loſe in the preſent conteſt. For they have to loſe the means of procuring their daily bread, and the fair proſpect which, in this land of freedom, every man enjoys of being able to raiſe himſelf, by ingenuity and induſtry, to a higher rank in life.

It is the common artifice of the french to endeavour to produce a diviſion between the people

and the government of any country with which they are at war. And, ſhould they effect a landing on our coaſts, they will, doubtleſs, at firſt, pretend that they are not hoſtile to the intereſts of the great body of the nation. They will probably, on the other hand, aſſert, by means of manifeſtos printed in engliſh and profuſely diſtributed, that they come to do them ſervice, that it is their object to deliver the poor from what they will call the oppreſſion of the rich, and the country in general from what they will term the tyrannny of its rulers. But the good ſenſe of engliſhmen will not allow them to be the dupes of ſuch ſhallow artifices. They will not eaſily be induced to believe it poſſible that the inveterate enemies of their iſland ſhould, all at once, have become ſo extremely friendly to its interests, as to expoſe their own lives to the moſt imminent danger for the pure ſake of promoting them. They know that there muſt be a ſubordination of ranks in every civilized ſociety. They know that there is no country in Europe where the bleſſings of freedom and the only rational and practicable ſpecies of equality, an equality of rights, are enjoyed in ſuch perfection as in their own. They know the dreadful ravages and horrid cruelties which the french have committed on every rank and claſs of people, in the countries which they have conquered, and the diſmal ſtate of poverty,

dependence and ſlavery to which they have invariably reduced them. They know that, as they are tyrants abroad, ſo they are themſelves ſlaves at home ; and that the honour of being taken under the protection of "the great nation" implies only a ſtate of expoſure to complete pillage, and of vaſſalage to a country, itſelf under the arbitrary and oppreſſive control of a military government. If the britiſh poor have no realized property to loſe in this conteſt it, by no means, follows that it is a matter of indifference, as to their intereſts, how it terminates. In the event of ſucceſsful invaſion, the rich man may, perhaps, find the means to betake himſelf, with whatever he can ſave from the plunder of a rapacious enemy, into ſome more favourable climate, where his remaining wealth may ſtill command for him the means of ſubſiſtence. But the poor man is much more neceſſarily attached to the country in which he was born ; and if his labour there ceaſe to be of any value, a circumſtance which muſt occur to thouſands in caſe of the deſtruction of our manufactures, he cannot eaſily tranſport himſelf and his family into a foreign land : nor will his means of information commonly be ſuch as to give him the power of aſcertaining where his habits of induſtry may be moſt likely to meet with encouragement. In this ſituation it is too probable that no other reſource will be

left to him than to recruit the exhauſted ranks of the enemies of his country, whilſt his deſtitute and unprotected family muſt ſink, the victims of their unhappy fate. It is therefore idle and falſe to aſſert that the poor have no intereſt in the preſent contest. They are most ſeriouſly and deeply interested in it. Beſides, is it nothing to loſe the conſciouſneſs of belonging to a free and independent state? Is it nothing to loſe the proud ſuperiority which that state hath ſo long maintained amongst the nations of Europe? Is it nothing to permit a foreign plunderer, at the head of a french army, to dictate the law to britons? Is the mean conſideration of our own perſonal interest the only ſentiment by which we can be moved? And ſhall the honour, the dignity, the liberty of our native land stand for nothing in our estimation? Impoſſible! There is not a man in the britiſh iſles who would not *bluſh* to ſee the tricoloured ſtandard of France flying on the tower of London. There is not a man in the britiſh iſles, who has a ſpark of noble pride or of generous patriotiſm glowing in his heart, who, rather than witneſs ſuch a diſgraceful ſight, would not *freely ſacrifice his life.* Let us then join, with cordial unanimity and intrepid firmneſs, to repel the torrent of that mighty ruin, which our enemies fondly but vainly think they have prepared for us. Let every man, who can

wield a weapon for the protection of his king and country, be willing to come forth, and rather to periſh on the field of honour, bravely fighting for his native land, than drag out a miſerable and inglorious exiſtence, the witneſs at once of its ruin and its ſhame.

" How beautiful is death when earned by virtue !
—— —— —— What pity is it
That we can die but once to ſave our country !"*

" *Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which ſeemeth him good.*"§

" *Be not ye afraid of them: Remember the Lord, who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your ſons and your daughters, your wives and your houſes.*"†

* Addiſon.

§ 2 Samuel X.—12. † Nehemiah IV.—14.

APPENDIX.

Containing ſome obſervations on the French preparations for invaſion, and on the mode of national defence, &c.

AT a time when we are threatened with a deſcent by nearly the whole diſpoſable force of France, and when the invaſion, if it take place at all, will take place from the ſhores, not only of France, but of Holland and Flanders, poſſibly of Spain and even of Portugal, it is much to be lamented that the energies of the britiſh empire ſhould have been repreſſed by a miſplaced economy, or by a timid, irreſolute policy, ſenſible of the neceſſity of rouſing the nation to its own defence, yet fearful of truſting a brave and loyal people with the general uſe of thoſe arms, or the general knowledge of that military diſcipline requiſite to effect the purpoſe. The preſent adminiſtration has doubtleſs many claims to the eſteem and attachment of the country. The conciliating manners of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in particular, the candour with which he is ever ready to meet the objections of opponents, the reſpect with which he has uniformly treated the houſe of commons and the public, the plain and artleſs ſtile of his ſpeeches in parliament, the good ſenſe with which they are uniformly pervaded, his declared regard for the liberty of the preſs, the general mildneſs and moderation of the meaſures which have been purſued ſince he came into power, ſo oppoſite to the harſh and raſh proceedings of his predeceſſor, and the temperate yet firm and dignified language, which he has always obſerved with reference to foreign ſtates have juſtly gained him

the reſpect and affection of every deſcription and party amongſt us. Yet it is difficult to account for the conduct of an adminiſtration which, having ſtrained every nerve to excite the country to a ſenſe of the magnitude of its danger, and ſtrongly repreſented the neceſſity of univerſal co-operation to repel that danger, no ſooner ſucceeded in calling forth, through its whole extent, one unanimous ſpirit of valiant reſiſtance than it checked and paralyzed thoſe exertions which, if they had been duly encouraged, would, before this time, have placed us in circumſtances of confidence and ſecurity. If motives of economy have produced this ſtrange appearance of inconſiſtency, why did not thoſe motives operate ſooner? Is there now any greater neceſſity for economical arrangements than there was at the time when miniſters thought it adviſable by their ſpeeches in parliament to rouſe the whole nation to arms, and even to procure an act for the expreſs purpoſe of enabling them to compel the levy *en Maſſe?* Economy, however little it has hitherto characterized our ſtatesmen, is certainly a very deſirable qualification in a britiſh Chancellor of the Exchequer; and it would have been happy for the nation if former miniſters had been better acquainted with this humble but uſeful accompliſhment. The figures of rhetoric and powers of oratory by which they have been ſo ſplendidly, and for their country ſometimes ſo unfortunately, diſtinguiſhed would have been cheaply exchanged for it. But ſurely the proper time for its exerciſe is not at the preciſe moment, when our independence, our liberties and our lives are at ſtake; when we are threatened with a formidable invaſion by the moſt powerful ſtate in Europe, a ſtate which, independantly of its immenſe body of national guards, has at its diſpoſal a diſciplined force of nearly five hundred thouſand men, commanded by the moſt experienced officers, and headed by an individual, who unites to the ſentiment

of inveterate hatred againſt the britiſh empire the moſt extraordinary military talents, the moſt unbounded ambition and a ſpirit of the moſt extravagant and romantic enterprize.

In ſuch circumſtances, is there a man who would have objected to the conduct of miniſters, if they had freely incurred whatever expence might have been neceſſary, in adopting the plans of defence and ſecurity which they ſeem to have firſt contemplated? Or would it have been too much to have armed with the musket or pike, as might have been found moſt conveniently practicable, at leaſt the two firſt claſſes of the levy *en maſſe*? It were a *libel* on the people of England to ſay that they are not ſafely to be truſted in their own cauſe. Never was a people more univerſally influenced by a ſpirit of ardent loyalty and ſteady patriotiſm. Even thoſe who, under the rigorous proceedings of the late adminiſtration, were the moſt diſpoſed to complain, would, to a man, ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in expelling the mercenary hirelings of France from the coaſts of Britain. The admirers of republican forms of government have been completely diſguſted by the proceedings which have taken place, ſince the extinction of their monarchy, amongſt our hoſtile neighbours; the friends of freedom look with deteſtation on the odious tyranny which is now eſtabliſhed on the ruins of that monarchy; and rather than ſubmit to it, they would willingly retire to the moſt diſtant corners of the globe, and conſent to inhabit "wilds untrod by human foot." The ſpirit of faction, if ever it really exiſted in this country, is certainly not now to be found in it. Engliſhmen are juſtly and univerſally united in one ſentiment of attachment to their native land and to its happy conſtitution, and in one earneſt and determined wiſh to aſſert its independence againſt every hoſtile invader. If ever there were a period when government might repoſe

an entire confidence in its ſubjects, it is the preſent. And the reſponſibility will reſt entirely with miniſters if, through either a miſtaken economy, or a groundleſs and ill timed jealouſy of popular opinion, they be not entirely prepared for the menaced attack. But unhappily that reſponſibility will come too late. It is therefore the only part which the people of Great Britain and Ireland have to take, to aſſociate voluntarily in arms upon any terms which miniſters may chuſe to accept. The conduct of thoſe miniſters will be always open to a parliamentary enquiry; and notwithſtanding any appearance of a want of firmneſs and vigour in their counſels, there is every reaſon to believe they have the real good of their country in view. But an advantage once given to the enemy, by our delay to bring forth the national reſources to a degree deciſively ſufficient to counteract his proudeſt efforts, may not eaſily be regained. In ſuch a caſe as this, conſidering the uncertainty of naval operations, and the dependence which they unavoidably have upon the ever-changing elements, we ſhould act by land as if we had no aſſurance of being able to maintain the dominion of the ſeas. We ſhould be prepared for the event of our ſhips being diſperſed and ſhattered by ſtorms, and of ſucceſſive fleets of french tranſports, laden with troops, being able to elude their utmoſt vigilance during the dark nights or foggy days of winter. The exertions which have been already made to augment our military eſtabliſhment indicate that this is the ſentiment of government; and the numerous offers which have been preſented to it of the ſervices of volunteer corps ſhew that it is equally the opinion of the people. A larger native military force will probably ſoon be in a ſtate of activity in this country than has exiſted in it ſince the days of the immortal Alfred; and there is doubtleſs reaſon to hope and believe that this force will ſuffice ultimately to repel any attack which the troops of the Firſt Conſul may be able to make upon us. But it ſhould be conſidered that

thoſe troops are both aſtoniſhingly numerous and in the moſt formidable ſtate of diſcipline. It ſhould alſo be conſidered that it is not ſufficient that we ULTIMATELY ſucceed againſt them. We ſhould by all means be ready to give them ſuch a reception that they may not be able to *exiſt* in hoſtile array upon britiſh ſoil for a ſingle week, if poſſible not for a ſingle day. The loſs which public credit and the intereſts of our commerce, to ſay nothing of our domeſtic comforts, would ſuſtain from any thing like a campaign on engliſh gronnd would be incalculable. The danger would alſo be multiplied if any body of french forces, which might once obtain a footing on our territory, ſhould be able to maintain its poſition until reinforcements might arrive. For it is certain that the firſt corps which ſhall ſucceed in gaining the ſhores of Great Britain or Ireland, will ſpeedily be followed by other detachments: And policy ſeems to require that the advanced diviſion ſhould be ſubdued before the next ſhould have time to make good its landing. If ſuch an invaſion be ſeriouſly intended as ſhall amount to ſomething more than a mere predatory incurſion which, without a ſuperior naval power, muſt iſſue in the deſtruction of the invading party, and which would probably little ſatisfy the towering ambition and unbounded reſentment of the preſent ruler of France, the attempt muſt be made either at once on a grand ſcale of co-operation from all the northern ports of the enemy, or on the principle of ſmaller diviſions which ſhall ſucceſſively and rapidly follow each other, taking every poſſible advantage of the weather and other fortuitous circumſtances to elude the obſervation, or ſcattering themſelves at diſtant intervals, to diſtract the attention of the britiſh cruizers. Upon either of theſe plans it were a hardy aſſertion to maintain that a very conſiderable body of troops might not be thrown upon one or both of the britiſh iſlands by ſuch a power as France. And I heartily wiſh my calculations on this ſub-

ject may appear exaggerated to those who are most competent to form an accurate judgment of them.

In the very commencement of the present dispute between the two nations, it was acknowledged by Mr. Addington, in one of his speeches in the house of commons, that our enemies possessed not only a most formidable line of coast but a number of vessels of different descriptions sufficient, if not interrupted by our fleets, to transport to this country "*an enormous force.*" Such were the very words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This number of vessels they have been since perpetually and diligently augmenting, obliging all persons in their seaport towns to contribute in some way or other, and most of them by their manual labour, to promote their naval preparations. So great is the rigour with which this tyrannical requisition is enforced, that I have the authority of a private letter from a friend at Rotterdam to state that, in that town and neighbourhood, those who do not readily comply with it are coupled together, and in that situation publicly flogged. Such are the benefits of french fraternization, and such is the generosity with which the allies or, as the dutch may now rather be called, the subjects of France are treated by a government which kindly proposes to extend its protection to the british isles, and to diffuse its system of liberty first over these kingdoms and then over the continent of Europe! But the exertions, however unjustly enforced, which have been made to increase the number of vessels in the harbours and rivers of France, must have produced a very considerable effect; and a gentleman conversant in naval affairs lately gave it to me as his serious opinion that the boats and shipping of various descriptions, now at the disposal of the First Consul, were sufficiently numerous to transport across the channel *the whole french army.* Notwithstanding my respect, however, for the opinions and the means of information of

that gentleman, I flatter myſelf that he muſt be a little miſtaken, eſpecially when I conſider the amount of the effect produced by the two laſt conſiderable exertions of our enemies in the naval department. The ſhips fitted out for the expedition to Egypt, both in the northern and ſouthern ports of France, and from thoſe of Genoa, Corſica, Italy and Malta, conveyed to that unfortunate country, only between 30,000 and 40,000 men excluſively of ſailors. The fleet fitted out, ſince the peace, for St. Domingo tranſported to that miſerable iſland an army not exceeding 25,000 men. And each of theſe exertions was ſuppoſed to be no inconſiderable effort of the french marine, dilapidated through the neglect of the revolutionary governments or deſtroyed by the ſuperior genius of the britiſh navy. There is however no doubt that a country like France, abounding in ſea ports, interſected by large rivers, and inhabited by a numerous, active and enterprizing people, capable at any time of commanding the co-operation of Spain, and with Flanders, Holland and Italy at its diſpoſal, may ſoon collect an amazing multitude of ſuch light veſſels as will be perfectly ſufficient to convey any number of troops, which ſhe may think it prudent to embark in them, acroſs the britiſh channel. The meaſures now reſorted to by the french government are likewiſe not more arbitrary than they are calculated to produce a powerful effect in this particular direction. And when we conſider that the dutch Greenlandmen and ſhips of war, the dutch, flemiſh and french merchantmen, the whole hoſt of their privateers, their very fiſhing boats and the ſmall craft of their rivers and canals are all in a ſtate of requiſition, to increaſe the number of veſſels produced by the continued activity of many months, when we likewiſe remember that many of their largeſt ſhips from St. Domingo have arrived ſafe in Europe, and that a conſiderable force of ſhips of the line and frigates is known to be in a ſtate of preparation, both in the french and ſpaniſh

ports, waiting only till the blockading ſquadrons are driven off by adverſe gales, it does not appear improbable that an attempt may be made upon our coaſts with a much larger number of men than the inhabitants of this country expect to find engaged in the enterprize. Indeed it is not likely that a man of the temperament of Bonaparte would undertake ſuch an enterpriſe, unleſs upon a magnificent ſcale and with what may appear to him, at leaſt, a *poſſibility* of ſucceſs.

Let us ſuppoſe that he has, or expects in the courſe of the winter to have, a ſufficient number of veſſels to embark for this country 150,000 men. It appears to be making a very fair allowance for the exertions of our navy, if we calculate that one-third part of theſe men will be killed or taken priſoners on the paſſage, and that not more than one-half of the boats and ſhipping will be permitted to return into the harbours of France, in any condition to bring out freſh troops. Suppoſe this operation to be repeated with a proportionate loſs of men and ſhipping till, by the complete deſtruction of the latter, it can no longer be continued. About 100,000 men would have been deſtroyed, or taken on their paſſage. But about 200,000 would have been thrown on our ſhores. From all accounts, the Chief Conſul would think himſelf pretty ſecure of victory, if he could tranſport himſelf with half that number of veteran ſoldiers, and their neceſſary complement of arms and baggage, into an unfortified country, long unuſed to be the theatre of war, and whoſe inhabitants he may, perhaps, conceive to be effeminated by opulence and luxury. In this opinion there is not a briton who would not freely ſacrifice his life to convince him of his miſtake; and I hold it blaſphemy to my native land, to intimate the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion that he would not finally atone dearly for his audacity. But, in the mean time, the country might be converted into a ſcene of carnage and

deſolation; the labours of agriculture would be at an end; the operations of the manufacturer would be completely ſuſpended; commercial and national credit would be annihilated; the ſyſtem of our paper currency would vaniſh away like ſmoke; and bankruptcy, ruin and famine would overſpread the land. For theſe reaſons, it appears to me that we cannot be too active in our preparations, or too ſecure in the nature and extent of them. A commercial country, like this, ſhould not riſque the poſſibility of its becoming the ſcene of war, even for a few weeks. And, in this view of the ſubject, the conduct of ſome of our new corps is highly inexcuſable, who have choſen rather to diſband than to be conſidered as ſupernumeraries, and to remain liable to the militia ballot. It is difficult to ſay, whether the imprudence of impoſing, or the diſhonour of rejecting theſe terms, in the preſent circumſtances of the country, be the greateſt. Miniſters have however, I believe, in very few inſtances, declined to accept the ſervices of ſuch corps as have offered themſelves upon the above terms, and engaged to put government to no expence. And I, therefore, earneſtly recommend it to my countrymen, if the levy *en maſſe* be not immediately called out, to aſſociate in their reſpective diſtricts, *in numerous bodies*, for the purpoſe of learning the uſe of the pike, and acquiring a competent degree of ſkill in the art of marching and manœuvring, which will be as conducive to the ſucceſsful application of that inſtrument, as of the muſket and bayonet. Let the rich not refuſe to mix for this purpoſe in the ſame ranks with the poor, and to aſſiſt them in the neceſſary contribution, which need not be more than a few ſhillings, the price of a pike, for each man. Theſe corps, without having even pledged themſelves to march from their own homes, would be of infinite ſervice, if eſtabliſhed all over the country. The enemy would then have to contend with not only a large diſpoſable force of regulars, militia and volunteers, as the latter

are at preſent conſtituted, but an armed nation, ready and fearleſs to meet them in every quarter of the iſland. Their own former policy would be turned againſt them, and, if they exceeded us in diſcipline, we ſhould inevitably and expeditiouſly cruſh them by our ſuperior numbers. The french have never refuſed to avail themſelves of this advantage when they have had it in their power; and the opinion of a few military officers, "jealous of honour," ſhould not be allowed to prevent the people of England from availing themſelves of it now; eſpecially when it may be obtained at no expence, with very little perſonal inconvenience, and *with an aſſurance of it's being abſolutely deciſive with reſpect to the ſecurity of the Country.*

I am aware it may be alledged that we have already a larger number of men in arms than it can poſſibly be ſuppoſed the invading force will amount to. What that force will be it is not eaſy to aſcertain. A letter from St. Omers, which has juſt found its way into the public prints, aſſerts that 400,000 men are deſtined to be employed againſt us, part of whom will be embarked in 2,000 boats now nearly completed. A private communication from Breſt is repreſented as ſtating that in that harbour, where we had no tcalculated on there being more than ſeven or eight ſail of the line, there are not leſs than twenty two, beſides frigates and a crowd of tranſports. In the Texel we are told are ten ſail of the line, beſides frigates, 400 merchantmen, and an immenſe number of ſchuyts which are decked and capable of ſtanding the north ſea. Floating batteries of a moſt formidable conſtruction are alſo ſaid to be preparing, &c. Theſe reports, notwithſtanding the aſſurances given us of their accuracy, are probably exaggerated repreſentations. But if the plan above recommended were univerſally adopted it would be of very little moment to us whether they were true or false. We ſhould be prepared for the moſt gigantic efforts of the enemy,

and the great advantage we ſhould enjoy would conſiſt not only in the certainty with which thoſe efforts would be overcome, but in the celerity with which they would be oppoſed. Let the foe land wherever he pleaſed, an armed and diſciplined people would be at hand ready to diſpute with him the firſt and every ſucceeding inch of ground. Whereas at preſent if 50,000 or 60,000 men were diſembarked on any part of our coaſts, except the ſouthern or ſouth eaſtern where the moſt formidable preparations have very properly been made, it is probable, ſo much time would be loſt before an efficient force could be brought to oppoſe their progreſs, that the moſt ſerious miſchief might be incurred. At all events there could be no rational cauſe of apprehenſion and there would be deciſive ſecurity from the meaſure of training the great maſs of the people to the uſe of the pike. The nation thus armed would repoſe with confidence on its own ſtrength, and might ſmile at the impotent efforts of an aſſailing world. But it is a miſtake to imagine that this meaſure can be reſorted to with advantage in the hurry and confuſion of a ſtate of actual warfare. A moderate degree of diſcipline, once acquired, may in ſuch circumſtances be rapidly improved. But the rules of art are not to be firſt ſtudied when their application is required. Nor can much good be expected from the ill combined operations of irregular and tumultuary forces, however zealous or courageous they may individually be. Such untutored levies would impede rather than aſſiſt the more regular ſoldiery; and they would ſtand expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

It has been ſuppoſed that in their meditated attack upon us our enemies themſelves, not deficient in cunning, are likely to have recourſe to ſome novelty in the nature or conſtruction of their weapons. And, to ſhew the important advantage ſome-

times derived from alterations apparently trivial, it has been aſſerted that the ruſſians conquered Italy in the laſt war by the additon of two inches to the uſual length of the bayonet. At a time when the french armies had been neglected by the revolutionary government, when they had been allowed to become diſorganized, and yet had to defend a frontier of unprecedented extent, the ſucceſs of the ruſſians may be accounted for, without having recourſe to the ſuppoſition that they poſſeſſed any ſuperior advantages in the conſtruction of their arms. But it is evident that a ſtratagem of this ſort might eaſily be obviated by having the national pikes made as long as might be thought conſiſtent with their free and active uſe.

After all, it is poſſible that the threats of invaſion ſo ſtrongly held out by France ſince the commencement of the preſent diſpute may be intended only as a war againſt our commerce and our finances. But the more I conſider the eager, impetuous character and aſpiring ambition of the Firſt Conſul, the more I am perſuaded that he is, at preſent, influenced leſs by views of policy, than by movements of paſſion. Accuſtomed to victory, intoxicated with power and ſtimulated by flattery, he expects the whole world to bend before him; and, indignant at our acknowledged commercial and naval ſuperiority, as well as piqued at the event of the war in Egypt and at the freedom with which he has been treated by our political writers, he burns to accompliſh at once the deſtruction of our power and our independence. Under the influence of theſe feelings, he is willing to adopt the moſt extraordinary and even the moſt extravagant meaſures if they appear to offer any proſpect of gratifying his ambition or his revenge. But, whatever be the view with which his preſent ſyſtem of operations has been reſorted to, we know that it is of ſuch a nature as to render it indiſpenſibly neceſſary for us to conſult our own ſecurity. And no

plan, in addition to what has already been done in this country, can be at once more effectual and economical than for its inhabitants to form themſelves, with the approbation of government, into numerous corps for the purpoſe of learning the pike exerciſe. It is not at all improbable that, conſidering the preſent greatly augmented power of the french republic, our miniſters may find it adviſable to have recourſe to ſome ſuch mode, as this, of *permanent* national defence. Its cheapneſs and its ſufficiency are great recommendations; and to thoſe who look with a jealous eye on large ſtanding armies, as dangerous to liberty, it muſt appear particularly acceptable.

We have lately ſeen how completely her own military power has triumphed over France. Wherever ſlavery has been eſtabliſhed it has been by ſimilar means. But the great maſs of a people will never conſpire againſt themſelves; and no country can poſſibly be in a ſtate of more perfect ſafety, both againſt external aggreſſion and internal revolution, than that in which its rights and liberties are placed under the protection of the body of its inhabitants armed and diſciplined for that expreſs purpoſe. This was the ſyſtem once eſtabliſhed in our own iſland by the illuſtrious Alfred. The revival of it has of late been ably recommended by the ingenious pen of Major Cartwright.* Its adoption would be worthy of a patriotic adminiſtration. It would fix the prerogatives of the Prince as well as the liberties of the people on the ſolid ground of ſecurity. It would guard us equally from the dangers both of tyranny and anarchy: And it would entirely and for ever relieve us from thoſe alarms of invaſion, and all their injurious conſequences, to which we are perpetually, and muſt now more than ever be ſubject, on the breaking out of a war with

* See his appeal, civil and military, on the ſubject of the engliſh conſtitution.

France. Were this plan to take place the beſt practicable mode of arming the country would of courſe be adopted, and the pike would yield to the muſket and bayonet, as ſoon as muſkets and bayonets could be procured in ſufficient number.

The expenſe of our preſent military eſtabliſhment might, in ſuch a caſe, be in a great meaſure ſpared. We ſhould have little occaſion for what are now called troops of the line. All the diſpoſable force that we ſhould want would be merely a ſufficiency for the ſupply of our foreign garriſons, the protection of our colonies and the occaſional annoyance of thoſe of our enemies. It may perhaps be objected that a large military eſtabliſhment ought ſtill to be kept up to enable us, when it might be thought adviſable, to fit out continental expeditions. But, what have we ever gained by ſuch expeditions? We have ſometimes, perhaps, done a little miſchief to our adverſaries; but it has always been at a much greater expenſe to ourſelves, and not unfrequently at the expenſe of ultimate defeat and diſgrace. Our marine ſtrength points out to us a much better way of carrying on a war with France than by expoſing ourſelves to the riſque of continental expeditions. A ſyſtem indeed of predatory incurſions on the french ſhores, in which our troops ſhould never attempt to poſſeſs themſelves of forts or towns or to make any eſtabliſhment, but merely to harraſs the enemy, may ſometimes be conveniently reſorted to. By obliging them to act on the defenſive and to provide for the protection of an extended line of coaſt, it may avail to diſconcert ſome of their offenſive operations; and if a ſquadron of light veſſels, with a competent land force on board, could ſome time ago have been ſpared on that ſervice they might not have found it entirely conſiſtent with their own ſecurity to concentrate ſo large a body of troops on the ſhores of the channel, with a view to the invaſion of England. But the true policy of this country

in a war with France is undoubtedly to keep down its naval power and to ſhut up, if poſſible, the ſources from which it may be regenerated. With this view our great object muſt be, not merely to deſtroy their ſhipping but, to obviate their means of acquiring or forming ſeamen. Theſe they cannot poſſeſs, during war, however populous their territory may be, if they have not employment for them during peace. We ſhould therefore make a point, not only of taking their weſt india Iſlands and whatever remains to them in the eaſt indies or the indian ocean but, of retaining them in our own hands. We ſhould ſuffer no foreign colonies to afford to France the means of employing her people in a ſea-faring life. We ſhould prohibit them entirely from fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland and completely expel them from their ſettlements in its neighbourhood. Guiana ſhould if poſſible be wreſted from them; and every diſcouragement ſhould be thrown in the way of their foreign trade, not ſo much to prevent the growth of their manufactures as to prevent the increaſe of their ſeamen. It is in this point of view that I conſider the expulſion of the French from Egypt as moſt important to us. Had they once ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing a colony there, the intercourſe, civil and commercial, which muſt have been carried on between it and the Mother Country would have afforded conſtant employment to a conſiderable number of ſailors. We have happily fruſtrated their deſigns in that quarter of the world; and the continued poſſeſſion of Malta will enable us at any time to check their trade to the Levant. We cannot hinder the French from building ſhips; but it appears to be within the power, and if ſo it muſt certainly be the wiſdom of this country, to throw innumerable obſtacles in the way of their procuring any other nurſery for ſeamen than that of their own coaſting trade. To this point our attention ſhould be ſedulouſly directed. And never was there a fairer oppor-

tunity preſented to us for it's accompliſhment. For, whatever may be the number of ſhips which France may be able to muſter up as tranſports, her navy has undoubtedly received a mortal blow during the war of the revolution; whilſt the britiſh naval power has riſen to it's higheſt pitch of greatneſs and glory. This comparative ſtate of the two nations as to their maritime ſtrength may be conſidered as more important to us than ever. And, as it ſhould be our object in war to maintain it, it ſhould likewiſe be our determination to conclude no peace by which it may be compromiſed.

This is the only means by which we can, and by this means we certainly may, counterbalance the enormous acquiſitions which our enemies have lately made. In proportion as their territorial power is augmented, we ſhould take care that their naval ſtrength be abridged; and when the time for treating on terms of peace ſhall at length arrive, it ſhould be a firſt principle, a *ſine quâ non* with us that if they be determined to remain poſſeſſed of paramount authority on the continent, it ſhall be purchaſed at the expence of their colonial poſſeſſions and of every means of ſupporting their marine of which we may be able to deprive them. In one point or in the other, Great Britain may compel them to ſubmit to her views; and, if ſhe do not, ſhe will be culpably inattentive to her own future ſafety.

Let the french retire within their ancient or, at leaſt, within moderate limits; let them reſtore freedom and independence to the countries which they have enſlaved; let them produce ſatisfactory ſecurity that they will not again wantonly diſturb the peace or attack the liberties of Europe: We may then juſtly conſent that they ſhall continue to exiſt as a naval power. But, if their proceedings on the continent ſtill manifeſt

a determination to puſh their arbitrary dominion to the utmoſt poſſible extent, if the ſword be the only law to which they will appeal, and the right of conqueſt the only right which they will conſent to acknowledge, let the States of Europe unite for their own ſecurity againſt the common aggreſſor, and let the thunder of britiſh cannon aſſert *the undivided empire of the ſeas.*

To aſſail this envied empire the haughty ſquadrons of the chief Conſul mean ſoon to try their ſtrength. Let Britain fairly put forth hers, unchecked by a narrow and illiberal policy, and the event will not long remain in ſuſpenſe. Let her riſe in all her native ardour, firm in the cauſe of freedom, awful in juſtice, great in vengeance, yet ever willing to temper victory with mercy; and ſhe will ſpeedily diſmiſs the ſcattered legions of the enemy, in the language of the heathen God of her own proper element to the audacious winds:—

" Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia veſtri?
. . . . . Et tantas audetis tollere moles?
. . . . . .
Maturate fugam, regique hæc dicite veſtro;
Non illi imperium pelagi, ſævumque tridentem,
Sed mihi ſorte datum."

VIRGIL.

☞ *Since the preceding Diſcourſe was committed to the preſs, a little Pamphlet has been put into my hands entitled* "CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SINFULNESS OF WAR," *printed at Sheffield. The Author cites ſeveral paſſages from the New Teſtament, in which it is clearly intimated that the chriſtian religion was not intended to be propagated by the ſword; and from theſe paſſages he infers that* DEFENSIVE *as well as Offenſive war is unjuſtifiable. With equal logical accuracy he might have inferred from the prophetic words of our Saviour,* "*I am not come to ſend peace on earth but a ſword,*" *that war and bloodſhed are the proper buſineſs of chriſtians. Is it poſſible that he ſhould ſeriouſly believe the religion of the new teſtament ſo much at variance with the religion of nature and the dictates of common ſenſe as to require the good people of England to ſit ſtill whilſt the french cut all their throats?*

FINIS.

J. Montgomery, Printer,
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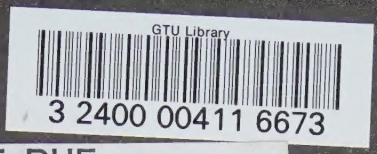

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